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Latin Linguistics between Grammar and Discourse. Units of Analysis, Levels of Analysis

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1 Introduction: units of grammar, units of discourse

In a letter written in the autumn of 50 BC, Cicero complains to his friend Atticus about how the ex-consul and governor of Syria, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, has managed to procure for himself a *supplicatio*, a military honour Cicero clearly deems himself to be more worthy of. A linguist for whom the object of study, and the basic unit of linguistic analysis, is the grammatical sentence or clause, will presumably approach the sequence in (1) as one single semantico-syntactic unit, in which the constituent *de triumpho autem* is syntactically integrated as an Adjunct:

- (1) *De triumpho autem nulla me cupiditas umquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas litteras quas amplissima supplicatio consecuta est.*
(‘With regard to the Triumph, I was never in the least eager until Bibulus sent that quite shameless letter which resulted in a Supplication in the most handsome terms’, Cic. *Att.* 7.2.6)¹

A discourse oriented linguist, however, might be inclined to analyze this example as two separate communicative *steps* or *acts*, each provided with its own communicative function: first, a preparatory step *de triumpho autem* (‘with regard to the triumph’), which functions as an instruction to the reader to create a new mental file or to reactivate an old one; and next, a central step *nulla me cupiditas umquam tenuit* (‘I’ve never felt a single eagerness’), which supplies the (re)opened file *triumphus* with a certain amount of new information.²

For a linguist, the relevance of assuming two separate units of analysis here instead of one, would depend crucially on whether there is a *linguistic necessity* for doing so. In HANNAY & KROON (2005), it is argued that in comparable examples in English this might indeed be the case, as proposed Theme constituents of this type (also called Left Dislocations) are commonly presented as separate intonation or punctuation units. For a language like Latin, in which we cannot rely on intonation and punctuation, things are more complicated, as is also amply demonstrated in a recent volume on “extra-structural” elements in Latin (BODELOT ed., 2007). With regard to example (1), however, we may adduce a number of arguments which, in combination, strongly indicate that it is linguistically relevant to analyze the sequence in terms of two units instead of one.

A first argument pertains to the presence of *autem*. In KROON (1995) *autem* is described as a discourse particle which does not primarily indicate a semantic relationship of ad-

¹ All translations are taken from (or based on) the bilingual editions of the Loeb Classical Library.

² In the preceding paragraph of the letter Cicero has already mentioned the possibility of a *triumphus*.

versativity between two successive clauses, but is mainly involved in marking some kind of thematic discontinuity in the discourse. By virtue of this particular function, and of the particle's characteristic second position in the clause, *autem* often seems to have the effect of marking off the fronted constituent from the rest of the sentence. Hence, in combination with the semantics of the preposition *de*, *autem* in example (1) seems to point to a quite specific communicative function of the fronted constituent *de triumpho*. This function may be described as orienting the addressee's attention towards a referent about which new information will be supplied in the ensuing discourse. It might be expected that constituents with an apparent communicative function of their own (in this case the function of Orientation) will also tend to display a certain degree of *structural* or *grammatical* independence.

A second, perhaps stronger argument for a two-unit-analysis in (1), is the position in the sequence of the unstressed personal pronoun *me*. From a strictly clause- or sentence-based viewpoint, this position would be contrary to Wackernagel's law, which states that unstressed enclitics such as *me* are to be placed second in the clause. In a two-acts-analysis, however, the position would be fully in line with this law. In such an analysis both the enclitic *autem* and the enclitic *me* are placed in the expected second position of their respective host units.³

A final argument may be provided by a comparison with examples like (2) and (3). These examples look much the same as (1), but in contrast to (1) it is not possible here to take the fronted constituents *de forma* and *mercator Siculus* as being syntactically integrated in the rest of the sentence.

- (2) *de forma*, ovem esse oportet corpore amplo
(‘as for the form, a sheep ought to have a large body’, Var. *R.* 2.2.3)
- (3) *mercator Siculus*, quoi erant gemini filii,
ei surrepto altero mors optigit
(‘A Sicilian merchant (nom.), who had twin sons, death (*mors*, nom.) occurred to him (*ei*, dat.) after one of them had been stolen’, Pl. *Men.* Arg. 1–2)

In order to deal with this syntactic problem, traditional sentence grammars have described examples like (2) and (3) in terms of anacoluthon or (example 3) as *nominativus pendens*, that is, as syntactic anomalies or irregularities warranting a special treatment or terminology.⁴ In a linguistic approach in which an important role is assigned to communicative intentions and communicative units, such a special treatment is unnecessary. In terms of, for instance, Functional Discourse Grammar (see below, section 2) we are dealing here with a subsidiary Discourse Act of Orientation, meant to direct the attention of the Addressee towards a particular referent. After this Orientational Act, which is assumed to have a particular illocutionary force of its own, but not the formal expression of a clause, the Speaker moves on to the nuclear Discourse Act, which provides new information with

³ See for this observation ADAMS (1994: 1–2), who refers with respect to example (1) to Fraenkel's important work on colon division (see Fraenkel's series of “Kolon und Satz” studies, published between 1936 and 1965). From antiquity onwards colon division (i.e. the division of longer sentences into smaller units of sense) is a moot point in discussions on the rhetorical style of, especially, Cicero. There is no consensus as to the definition of these units and the criteria on the basis of which they can be identified. Interesting for the discussion in the present article are Fraenkel's position that cola are a general and basic feature of language, and attempts by other scholars to identify sense pauses on the basis of prose rhythm (i.e. the study of rhythmical cadences at the ends of cola, reflecting natural pauses at the ends of cola). The relevant literature is summarized in CRAIG (2002: 526–528).

⁴ Cf. e.g. KÜHNER & STEGMANN (1912–1914: 586–7). For a more recent discussion of example (2), see PINKSTER (1990: 37); for a discussion of example (3), see BODELOT (2007: 20–1). Cf. also ROSÉN (1999: 157).

regard to this referent. Together the acts constitute a higher order communicative unit which is called Move.⁵

All in all, examples like (1)–(3) illustrate that the traditional primacy of the grammatical sentence or clause as the basic unit of linguistic analysis is not without problems. In this article I will make a case for a linguistic approach to Latin which considers the discourse pragmatic category of *Act* as the basic unit of linguistic analysis. Within such an approach the grammatical clause might be seen as the prototypical expression form of the Act.⁶ But, as is shown by examples (1)–(3), there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between the Discourse Act and the grammatical clause (or any other linguistic unit). By discussing certain linguistic phenomena in Latin, in particular the behaviour of the Latin particle *quidem*, I will demonstrate the linguistic necessity of distinguishing units of analysis that are essentially communicative in nature. Continuing the discussion in KROON (2004a; 2005), I will show that these “discourse units” may be both smaller and larger than the semantico-syntactic unit that is traditionally called clause, and that for an appropriate synchronic account of *quidem* one should also take the essentially dynamic nature of discourse into account.

More generally this article aims to illustrate how the description of certain linguistic phenomena (like word order, anaphoric reference, the use of tenses or, in this case, the use of discourse particles) may profit from an approach which assumes that the formal properties of language are adapted to the communicative aims and strategies of the language user. Within such a view, grammar is considered to be only one component within a wider theory of verbal interaction, in which the grammatical component interacts with a number of other, non-linguistic components. There are various grammatical models and theories that are based on this “structural-functional” principle and are oriented to both form and function.⁷ By way of theoretical background for the discussion of *quidem* in the second part of this article, I will first briefly introduce a number of theoretical views and concepts that bear upon the issue at stake. For the sake of clarity I will concentrate on Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG), a functional theory of language I am myself most familiar with, although comparable views can be found in other theories as well.⁸

2 Theoretical background: Functional Discourse Grammar and the grammar-discourse interface

2.1 General outline of FDG

Functional Discourse Grammar (see HENGVELD 2004, HENGVELD & MACKENZIE 2006, HENGVELD & MACKENZIE forthcoming) is the successor of Functional Grammar, a theory originally developed by Simon Dik in the seventies of the last century (DIK 1978; update in DIK 1997). The addition of the word *Discourse* in the denomination of the

⁵ Note that in example (3) the editor has apparently chosen for an interpretation in which the orientation phase is itself splitted up in two separate sub-steps (*mercator Siculus* and *quoi erant gemini filii*). It is also possible to consider *quoi erant gemini filii* as a closely connected relative clause which together with *mercator Siculus* constitutes one subsidiary Act.

⁶ This holds especially for the written register. In oral speech the “mismatch” between grammatical structure and discourse structure is evidently a much more pervasive phenomenon.

⁷ For a discussion and comparison, see BUTLER (2003).

⁸ As far as discourse aspects are involved, Functional Discourse Grammar is influenced especially by Systemic Functional Grammar (see e. g. HALLIDAY & MATTHIESSEN 2004) and by the Geneva Discourse Model (see ROULET *et al.* 1985, ROULET *et al.* 2001; and, for an overview, FILLIETTAZ & ROULET 2002). A major difference between FDG and the two other theories is the essentially typological orientation of FDG.

model is meant to do justice to the increased interest in discourse features and their impact on linguistic form. This does not mean that FDG is a discourse analytical model or a discourse grammar based on text linguistic analysis. Rather, FDG is a grammar of the *Discourse Act*, which allows for the treatment of units that are both larger and smaller than the individual clause. The main characteristics of the model can be summarized as follows:

- (i) FDG is envisaged as the grammatical component, alongside a conceptual, a contextual, and an output component, of a larger model of verbal interaction;
- (ii) FDG takes the Discourse Act rather than the sentence or clause as its basic unit of analysis. It is thus a discourse rather than a sentence grammar and is capable of handling discourse units both larger and smaller than a sentence or clause;
- (iii) FDG distinguishes four levels of organization and, hence, four levels of analysis of a linguistic utterance: an interpersonal, a representational, a structural, and a phonological or expression level; each of these levels deals with a single analytical domain (discourse pragmatics, semantics, morphosyntax and phonology, respectively);
- (iv) FDG orders these levels in a top-down fashion. It starts with the representation of the linguistic manifestations of the speaker's intentions at the interpersonal level, and gradually works down to the phonological level (articulation/expression). As such, the model reflects the psycholinguistic insight that language production is a top-down process, which starts with intentions and ends with the articulation of a linguistic expression.

Summary 1: characteristic features of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG)

2.2 The Interpersonal Level of analysis

In KROON (1995) I argued that particles, more specifically the Latin particles *nam*, *enim*, *autem*, *vero* and *at*, are linguistic phenomena that can only be interpreted and accounted for in terms of an interpersonal level of the grammar (involving pragmatic analysis) and of communicative units of discourse that are both larger and smaller than a clause.⁹ The interpersonal level of the grammar will turn out to be of major importance also for a proper account of *quidem* (see § 3).

The Interpersonal Level as distinguished in FDG deals with all the formal aspects of a linguistic unit that reflect its role in the interaction between the Speaker and the Addressee. Every interaction has a purpose, namely the achievement of some communicative goal. In order to attain this goal, a Speaker will have to employ a certain strategy, if only because usually this goal can only be achieved by taking a number of intermediate steps (Discourse Acts) involving a number of separate sub-goals. The decision how many of these communicative steps are needed, and in which order they are arranged, is part of the strategy. The strategy itself, and the communicative intention of the Speaker underlying the strategy, are not modelled in the Grammatical Component, but in the non-linguistic Conceptual Component. As such they fall outside the scope of FDG.¹⁰

The Interpersonal Level of the grammar is modelled in FDG (like in other discourse sensitive linguistic models) as a hierarchical structure which is composed of strategic units of interaction. The largest unit of interaction relevant to grammatical analysis is the *Move*,

⁹ For a recent overview of the state of the art in discourse particle research, see FISCHER (2006).

¹⁰ Systemic Functional Grammar and the Geneva Discourse Model are more ambitious in this respect.

which in KROON (1995:66) is defined as the minimal free unit of discourse. This means that a Move is an autonomous contribution to an interaction, which in essence opens up the possibility to be countered by a reactive Move of the Addressee. Moves may consist of only one Discourse Act, or of several Discourse Acts. In the latter case the constitutive Acts of the Move may maintain a relationship of equipollence, as in example (4), or a relationship of dependence, as in the earlier discussed example (2):¹¹

- (4) istuc nobis licet dicere (nuclear Discourse Act 1), vobis quidem non licet (nuclear Discourse Act 2)
(‘we may say that, but you may not’, Sen. *Ep.* 99.28)
- (2) de forma (subsidiary Discourse Act 1), ovem esse oportet corpore amplo (nuclear Discourse Act 2) (Var. *R.* 2.2.3)

Dependency between Discourse Acts involves rhetorical relations of the type Orientation, Explanation, Justification, Clarification, Background, and the like. As stated above, the subsidiary Discourse Act *de forma* in (2) maintains a relationship of Orientation with respect to the nuclear Discourse Act *ovem esse oportet corpore amplo*. Subsidiary Acts may or may not have the form of a grammatical clause.

As a result of the principle of recursivity, and reflecting the essentially dynamic nature of natural discourse (in the course of the discourse prior Moves may retrospectively have to be interpreted as constitutive of some hierarchically higher Move), Moves may develop into increasingly more complex structures. In such structures linguistic devices of various kinds, among which the use of discourse particles, may help the Addressee to keep track of the overall organization in which a particular unit is embedded. In the following section this is illustrated with a passage from Sallust’s historiographical monograph *De Bello Jugurthino* (cf. also KROON 1995: 83–89).

2.3 Complex Move structure: an illustration from Latin

In the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, Sallust describes the conflicts between the *nobiles* and the *populares*, as these became especially manifest in the war with Jugurtha, king of Numidia. In the passage cited below on p. 148, Sallust describes the new arrival on the African scene (107 BC) of one of the leading figures in his story, the Roman magistrate and military commander Sulla. This arrival is reported in segment [1], which is emphatically introduced by *ceterum*, a typically Sallustian word and the first example in this passage of the discourse organizing use of a connective particle. *Ceterum* indicates the transition to a new section or episode (or, in the terminology introduced above, a new Move) in the story. As such it indicates a major boundary in the structure of the monograph as a whole.

Segment [1] may, in itself, be considered a complete unit of interaction (a Move). After this first Move a new narrative Move is expected to occur, which may be thematically related to the first one, and by means of which the time line of the story may be advanced. However, before doing so, the author decides to insert a descriptive digression in which he elaborates on the life and character of the man who is to become one of the main protagonists of the story. This complex digression, which includes units [2]–[5], is introduced by the connective particle *sed*, which has the function of breaking off the current line of the narration and of drawing attention to some other issue. Segment [2–5] can be regarded as a complex Move which, as a whole, has a subsidiary function with regard to the narrative main line of the story. This main line is resumed not earlier than in segment [6], which is the next nuclear Move as far as the continuation of the narrative is concerned. This

¹¹ Note that in the case of equipollence it may be difficult to decide whether we are dealing with two Discourse Acts or two Moves.

next nuclear Move will turn out to have a complex hierarchical structure itself (not cited here further). Note that, due to the interruption, this new narrative Move starts with a resumptive summary of the preceding narrative Move. Cf. Text 1:

1. **Ceterum**, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit, quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romae relictus erat.
2. **Sed** quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est de natura cultuque eius paucis dicere.
3. Neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus et L. Sisenna, optime et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur
4. **Igitur** Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope iam extincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis iuxta atque doctissime eruditus, (...). Atque illi felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitauere, fortior an felicior esset.
5. **Nam** postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat magis disserere.
6. **Igitur** Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit,

1. **But** during these events [i. e. the attack on the fortress] the quaestor L. Sulla arrived in camp with a large force of cavalry, which he had mustered from Latium and the allies, having been left in Rome for that purpose.
2. **But** since the event has brought that great man to our attention, it seems fitting to say a few words about his life and character;
3. for we shall not speak elsewhere of Sulla's affairs, and Lucius Sisenna, whose account of him is altogether the best and most careful, has not, in my opinion, spoken with sufficient frankness.
4. Sulla, **then**, was a noble of patrician descent, of a family almost reduced to obscurity through the degeneracy of his ancestors. He was well versed in Greek and Roman letters (...)
And, before his victory in the civil war the most fortunate of all men, his fortune was never greater than his deserts, and many have hesitated to say whether his bravery or his good luck was greater.
5. **For** as to what he did later, I know not if one should speak of it rather with shame or with sorrow.
6. **Now** Sulla, as I have already said, after he came with his cavalry to Africa and the camp of Marius, soon became ...

Text 1: Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 95–96.1

After having analyzed the structure of the passage on the highest hierarchical level, we may now move on to the analysis of the internal structure of the subsidiary Move [2–5], the descriptive digression on Sulla. The structure of this segment can best be explained by means of the tree-structure in Figure 1 (p. 149 below), which shows how this embedded Move [2–5] can be analyzed in terms of nuclear and subsidiary units, thus demonstrating the essentially recursive nature of the system. The subsidiary complex [2–5] consists of a

nuclear unit [4–5], which comprises the actual description of Sulla; and a subsidiary unit [2–3] which functions as a preparation to, and justification of, the fact that the Speaker will interrupt the narrative main line of the discourse for an embedded description. Both unit [2–3] and unit [4–5] are, themselves, internally complex.

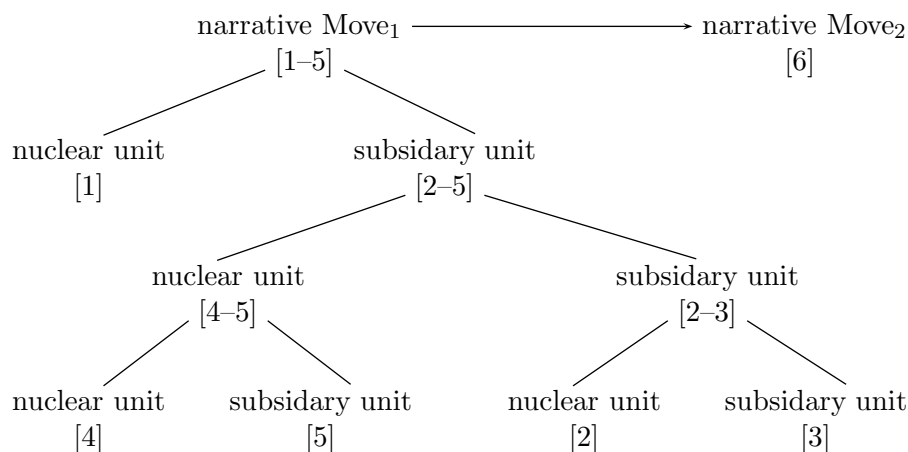


Figure 1: Hierarchical structure of Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 95–96.1

On the deepest level of the hierarchical structure, we could finally analyze most of the units [1]–[6] as configurations of nuclear and subsidiary discourse units of the smallest type (i. e. Discourse Acts). For the sake of clarity, however, and in view of the problems involved in identifying Discourse Acts in a Latin text (see above, section 1), I have refrained from doing so.

From the above analysis (note the words in bold face in the Latin text) it becomes especially clear that at all major “joints” in the structure there is explicit linguistic marking in the form of a connective particle. Rather than signalling a semantic type of relationship between two successive clauses referring to two related events, the particles seem to function as an important instruction for the Addressee how to find his way in the complex structural labyrinth of the text. I already mentioned the discourse particle *ceterum* in segment 1, which signals a transition from one scene or episode to another. At the second major boundary, involving a change in text type (the narrative Move is interrupted by a descriptive Move), we find the discourse marker *sed*. When the narrative is finally resumed in unit [6], this is signaled by the “pop” marker *igitur*.¹² This same particle is also used in unit [4], to indicate the start of the actual description after a justificatory “digression”. *Igitur* has the same function here as in [6], but at a lower level of the hierarchical structure.

The description itself (unit [4]) consists of a series of smaller discourse units of equal communicative status, only the last of which (*at ... felicius esset*) calls for a subsidiary remark: the emphatical statement that Sulla’s good fortune and industriousness were in balance *before* his victory in the civil war, might leave the Addressee wondering about this balance *after* this victory, when Sulla had obtained the dictatorship. In the *nam*-segment following segment [4], the narrator justifies the fact that he does not want to go into this

¹² The terms “push” and “pop” marker have been introduced by POLANYI & SCHA (1983). *Ceterum* and *sed* are clear push markers (shifting the discourse temporarily into a different direction), whereas *igitur* is a typical pop marker (bringing the discourse back to its initial track). For *igitur* as a pop marker, see KROON (1989; 2004b).

last period of Sulla's career. As a typical marker of subsidiary (i. e. motivating, elaborating, justifying) discourse units *nam* is well at place in unit [5] (see KROON 1995).

In addition to the discourse particles used, the text fragment displays a number of other linguistic phenomena which, like the particles, can only be accounted for in terms of an Interpersonal Level of organization involving strategic steps in a wider communicative plan. An example is the emphatic fronting of the discourse topic *Sulla* in units [4] and [6], which can be assumed to have more or less the same text structuring function as the use of the discourse particles. In [6] it is not only the position in the clause of the referent Sulla that is significant, but also the fact that the referent is expressed explicitly by his proper name: despite the fact that in unit [6] the referent Sulla is a well-established and continuous discourse topic, and the narrator might therefore have been expected to use a zero reference or anaphoric pronoun to refer to him¹³, the major boundary in the structure of the text apparently calls for a "heavier" type of reference here.

As a last example of the influence of discourse factors on linguistic choices at the level of the clause, we may draw attention to the Theme constituent *postea quae fecerit* in unit [5]. The significant placement of this constituent outside the syntactic structure of the clause it conceptually belongs to, may well be explained in terms of strategic discourse organization. Note that the extraposition of this relative clause might be taken as an argument to analyze *postea quae fecerit* as a separate Discourse Act with the rhetorical function of Orientation (see the discussion in § 1). Although the argument may not be conclusive, the extraposition of the relative clause in any case shows, again, how there may be a certain tension between grammatical sentence structure on the one hand, and strategic discourse structure on the other.

2.4 Communicated content: interpersonal and representational analyses

Thus far we have spoken about the strategic nature of Acts. What about the content they convey? According to FDG, a Discourse Act may contain four components: an Illocution, a Speaker, an Addressee, and a Communicated Content.¹⁴ The Communicated Content involves the totality of what the Speaker wishes to transmit by means of his Discourse Act. Thus, it is the Communicated Content within which the mapping from the Interpersonal Level to the Representational Level of linguistic analysis takes place.

The Representational Level involves the building up of a semantic representation, that is, it involves descriptions of entities as they occur in the non-linguistic world, and of the (semantic) relationships between them. These entities are of different orders: they may be propositional contents (third order entities), states of affairs (second order entities), individuals (first order entities) or properties (zero order entities). Whereas at the Representational Level a linguistic unit is viewed in terms of its "ideational" function, at the Interpersonal level this linguistic unit is viewed in terms of its interpersonal function: the Representational level involves the semantic material, while at the Interpersonal Level this material is organized in a particular way, according to strategic choices of the Speaker.¹⁵

¹³ For the issue of referent tracking in Latin, and the specific expression means involved, see BOLKESTEIN (2000).

¹⁴ Only two of these are obligatorily present, the Illocution and the Speaker. Expressions like e.g. 'Damn it!' are expressive rather than communicative and are hence considered to be devoid of an Addressee component and a Communicated Content.

¹⁵ Pragmatic and semantic analyses (at the Interpersonal and Representational Level, respectively) both involve the *formulation* of an utterance. The two other levels distinguished by FDG, the Morphosyntactic and the Phonological Levels, deal with its *encoding*. As such they fall outside the scope of this article.

This difference may be explained by means of example (5). As far as the Interpersonal level is concerned, we may analyze the linguistic unit under (5) as one single Discourse Act, which involves an assertive Illocution, a Speaker, an Addressee, and a Communicated Content. The Communicated Content consists of two subacts of Reference (the Speaker evokes two referents: *nescio quis* and *ornatu thalassico*), and one subact of Ascription (the Speaker ascribes the property *incedit* to the referent *nescio quis*).

- (5) *nescio quis incedit ornatu thalassico*
 ('someone or other is striding up in saylor's togs', adapted from Pl. *Mil.* 1282)

Subacts may carry pragmatic functions that signal the information structure of the Discourse Act, like Focus (versus Background), and Topic (versus Comment). In example (5), which has the appearance of an "all-new sentence", we might take the entire Communicative Content as carrier of the Focus function.¹⁶ Other types of sentences usually have only one Focus constituent.

An analysis of example (5) at the Representational Level, by contrast, involves semantic categories of the type propositional content, state of affairs, individual and property (see above), and semantic functions of the type Agent, Undergoer, Recipient, Instrument, etc.. For instance, the state of affairs referred to in (5) can be said to involve an Action carried out by an Individual with the semantic feature Animate, who performs the Action in a particular Manner or with a particular Instrument (*ornatu thalassico*).

3 The discourse function of the Latin particle *quidem*

3.1 Previous accounts

Now that we have given the rough outlines of a discourse pragmatic framework for linguistic analysis, we will turn, by way of illustration of the relevance of such a framework, to the Latin particle *quidem*. In their description of this particle, Latin manuals usually focus on one of two aspects: the specific *type of relationship* involved in the use of *quidem*, for instance adversative, concessive, continuative, correcting, expanding and explanatory; or the *formal context* in which *quidem* occurs, for instance *quidem* with a single word, *quidem* with a phrase, or *quidem* with a whole sentence. The general picture is that of a multifaceted linguistic device, the semantic or functional essence of which is hard to grasp. The following examples are representative of the variety of contexts and uses found, and the way in which the instances are usually classified:¹⁷

- (6) *consul ... suos quidem a fuga revocavit, ipse ... missili traiectus cecidit*
 (**contrastive/concessive**: 'the consul did indeed rally his men from their flight, but he himself ... fell struck with a javelin', Liv. 41.18.11)
- (4) *istuc nobis licet dicere, vobis quidem non licet*
 (**adversative**: 'we may say that, but you may not', Sen. *Ep.* 99.28)
- (7) *o fortunatum istum eunuchum, qui quidem in hanc detur domum!*
 (**causal/explicative**: 'how lucky that eunuch is, for being placed in such a house!', Pl. *Bac.* 1132)

¹⁶ In FDG Focus is regarded as an instruction for the addressee to fill an informational gap and update his mental discourse representation. The function is assigned only in those cases in which it is linguistically relevant.

¹⁷ The related particle *equidem* is more restricted in its use (see KÜHNER & STEGMANN 1912–1914, I: 805–7; SOLODOW 1978: 19–29). For the sake of clarity I leave *equidem* out of account in the discussion.

- (8) cupit regnum, et *quidem* scelerate cupit, qui transcendere festinat ordinem aetatis, naturae, moris Macedonum, iuris gentium.
(expanding/specifying): ‘He covets the throne and indeed covets it to the point of crime, since he hastens to leap over precedence in age, in nature, the usage of the Macedonians, the law of nations’, Liv. 40.11.7)
- (9) at, ne longum fiat, videte :: Utinam *quidem*!
(affirmative?) (‘But I warn you that my arguments may be lengthy :: Indeed (?), I hope they will be!’; lit.: ‘But see to it that it won’t take too long :: I hope it will’, Cic. *Leg.* 2.24)

Example (6) illustrates the alleged concessive use of *quidem*, in which *quidem* sets up the first half of a contrast. In Solodow’s study from 1978, which is one of the very few attempts to give a unitary description of *quidem*, this is considered to be the particle’s original or essential use, from which all other uses of *quidem* could be derived and understood, in a diachronic as well as synchronic sense.

According to Solodow, all instances of *quidem* share, in one way or other, a certain aspect of *contrastivity*. This semantic value of contrastivity is, indeed, obvious in example (4), in which *quidem* may count as the backward-linking counterpart of the forward-linking *quidem* in (6). The feature of contrastivity is less apparent, however, in cases like (7), (8) and (9). In (7), the relation between the relative *quidem*-clause and the preceding main clause seems to be causal or explicative rather than contrastive. In (8) the *quidem*-clause is to be taken as *expanding* or *specifying* the preceding clause, as is also indicated by the use of *et* instead of some adversativity marker. And in (9) there seems to be no semantic or rhetorical relation whatsoever between the *quidem*-unit and the preceding unit: the translation of the Loeb edition adopted here apparently takes *quidem* to be an affirmative particle in this sentence.

This brief overview of uses of *quidem* makes clear that a description of the particle as originally and essentially a contrastive connective, as Solodow proposes, may not be fully satisfactory. The discourse pragmatic framework sketched above enables us, however, to provide a more sophisticated account of *quidem*, in which its quite peculiar distributional behaviour can be better explained.¹⁸

3.2 An alternative analysis

This alternative analysis attributes to *quidem* a role in the strategic organization of the discourse. More specifically, *quidem* fulfils a coherence establishing role in contexts where a tension can be perceived between *conceptual unity* (Representational Level) and *communicative/strategic distinctness* (Interpersonal Level). Such a tension may arise when a Speaker decides to present a conceptual whole not as one strategic step with the form of one single integrated semantico-syntactic unit (which might be regarded as the default option), but as two separate steps. This is for instance the case in example (10):

- (10) at erat mecum senatus, et *quidem* veste mutata
 (‘The senate was on my side, and *quidem* in the garb of mourning’, Cic. *Planc.* 87)

In this example the Speaker has chosen to present a constitutive element of the Communicated Content as an independent communicative step (Discourse Act), and not – as might be expected here – as a syntactically integrated Adjunct (e.g. *at erat mecum senatus veste mutata*). The pragmatic motivation underlying this choice may be described as a particular Focus strategy: by presenting part of the conceptual unity of a clause as a separate

¹⁸ For a more systematic overview of the distributional properties of *quidem* I refer to KROON (2004a; 2005).

communicative step, this element will be perceived by the addressee as informationally prominent or surprising. Languages may differ in their linguistic repertory for expressing this type of Focus. A common device in Latin is, for instance, the splitting up of the semantico-syntactic unit by means of so-called *et*-epitaxis, as illustrated in example (10) and the earlier cited example (8).¹⁹ In (8), repeated here for convenience, this device is corroborated by repetition of the predicate, which can be seen as another splitting device. The relative informational weight of the element *scelerate* is, moreover, demonstrated by the addition of an explanatory relative clause.

- (8) cupit regnum, et *quidem* scelerate cupit, qui transcendere festinat ordinem aetatis, naturae, moris Macedonum, iuris gentium (Liv. 40.11.7)

In (8), the tension between conceptual unity and strategic distinctness has unequivocally led to the encoding of the Communicated Content in two separate Discourse Acts in the form of two syntactic clauses, which, nonetheless, together still may count as one single conceptual unity at the Representational Level of analysis. The specific function of *quidem* in examples like (8) and (10) can be described as a signal or warning to the Addressee that the host unit of *quidem*, despite its being presented as a separate communicative step, is, at another level of organization, to be regarded as a constitutive part of a larger conceptual whole on which it depends for its proper interpretation. In other words, *quidem* may count as an instruction to the Addressee to search for a “companion unit” to which the *quidem*-unit is conceptually linked.²⁰ Without this companion unit the *quidem*-unit is, conceptually speaking, incomplete. It is in this particular sense that *quidem* can be considered a discourse organizing device.

3.3 Application to some representative instances

The description of *quidem* as proposed above appears to be applicable to the bulk, if not all, instances of *quidem* examined.²¹ I will pass a number of representative instances under separate review.

Example (11), from a comedy by Plautus, is quite similar to examples (8) and (10), except for the fact that in (11) *quidem* is not accompanied by a clear epitaxis device:

- (11) Quid vides? :: nescio quis eccum incedit ornatu *quidem* thalassico
(‘What do you see sir? :: Look! Someone or other is striding up – and in saylor’s togs!’), (Pl. *Mil.* 1282)

The pragmatic motivation for using *quidem* here, and for strategically setting apart one particular element of a conceptual whole, appears to be the presence of multiple Foci: first, the fact that a new and unknown character is entering the scene; and second, the specific type of outfit he wears, which will appear to be of special importance in the scene that

19 I derive the term “epitaxis” or “*et*-epitaxis” from ROSÉN (1989; 2007), who discusses the phenomenon in more detail. According to Rosén, instead of *et* also *atque*, *nec*, *sed* or *at* may be used in epitaxis, potentially modified by e.g. *quidem* or *adeo*.

20 Note that in (8) the conceptual dependence of the *quidem*-unit on the preceding unit is also indicated by the ellipsis of the Object constituent. Elements of the description of *quidem* proposed here can, interestingly, also be found in Solodow’s study (“*Quidem* emphasizes one statement (or phrase or word) while directing our attention to another which contrasts with the first, supplementing or modifying it.”, 1978: 13). However, Solodow does not pursue this idea in the rest of his argumentation, in which he focusses mainly on *quidem*’s basic function as a contrast marker.

21 The observations are based on an inventory and analysis of the distributional properties of *quidem* in a sample of 1000 instances, taken from a representative and heterogeneous corpus of Latin texts. Part of the material was gathered by Josselijnn Boessenkool. See KROON (2004a; 2005).

is to follow.²² This splitting up of two Foci is in accordance with the cognitive linguistic theory of CHAFE (1994), which states that for basic units of discourse (which Chafe calls “chunks”) it is not possible to contain more than one focus of interest. So, in addition to rhetorical motivations, as in example (10) above, also cognitive factors like processing ease may seem to play a role in the strategically splitting up of information and the concomitant use of *quidem*.²³

In the examples discussed thus far, the *quidem*-units can all be considered, from a semantico-syntactic point of view, as Adjuncts. Example (12) represents quite a large group of instances in which the *quidem*-unit functions as a so-called Disjunct, that is, as a peripheral sentence constituent which does not modify, as Adjuncts do, the state of affairs referred to by the predicate, but rather gives the Speaker’s comment on the propositional content of the sentence as a whole, on its particular wording, or on its position within the wider textual or non-textual context. As such, Disjuncts are sentence constituents with the lowest degree of syntactic integration in the clause and, hence, suitable candidates for hosting *quidem*. In (12) the addition of *quidem* makes clear that *aliquot argumentis* (an ablative absolute construction) is not a modifier of the predicate *videtur ignorasse*, but should rather be interpreted as an added Speaker comment of a certain kind.²⁴

- (12) (preceding context: there have been various omens predicting emperor Claudius’ death.) Sed nec ipse ignorasse aut dissimulasse ultima vitae suae tempora videtur, *aliquot quidem argumentis*. Nam ...
 (‘But it seems that he was also himself not unaware of his approaching end, and that he made no secret of it, *for the truth of which there are some arguments*. For ... [arguments follow]’, Suet. *Cl.* 46.1)

In (11) and (12) above *quidem* provides an instruction to the Addressee to search for a companion unit in the *preceding* context, and can therefore be seen as a backward-linking device. In cases like our earlier discussed example (6), however, the search is oriented towards a companion unit in the *following* context (forward-linking use of *quidem*):

- (6) consul ... suos *quidem* a fuga revocavit, ipse ... missili traiectus cecidit (Liv. 41.18.11)

Describing *quidem* in instances like (6) as a marker of a concession or contrast relation in fact conceals what the instances have in common with examples like (11) and (12).

A very interesting other instance of this forward-linking *quidem* is given under (13):

- (13) (new paragraph) Et veneno _{ABL} *quidem* occisum convenit; ubi autem et per quem dato _{ABL}, discrepat
 (‘That Claudius was killed by poison is the general belief; but when and by whom it was given is disputed’, Suet. *Cl.* 44.2)

²² A slightly different interpretation would be that the Speaker, giving a direct report of what he sees, registers the specific details of the unknown person’s outfit only after his preliminary answer, and retrospectively elaborates on this answer. In such an interpretation the splitting up of the information could be taken to reflect the dynamism of the discourse.

²³ Processing factors also seem to play a role in the splitting up of internally complex or informationally “heavy” clause constituents. An example with *quidem* is Cic. *Sen.* 77: vestros patres ... vivere arbitror et eam *quidem* vitam quae est sola vita nominanda (‘I believe that your fathers are living yet, and living the only life deserving of the name’). The separate Act *et ... nominanda* conveys, so to speak, a Manner Adjunct that would be informationally too heavy, and structurally too complex, to be syntactically integrated (as an Adjunct) in the structure of the preceding Act.

²⁴ Cf. also expressions like *ut quidem ego audio* (‘as at least I hear’), *quantum quidem ego scio* (‘as far as I know’), and *ut quidem mihi videtur* (‘as it seems to me’), which are quite common.

From a grammatical point of view we seem to be dealing here with two asyndetically related grammatical clauses, each with its own verbal predicate (*convenit* and *discrepat*). From a discourse perspective, the sequence can be analyzed as two Discourse Acts maintaining a relationship of equipollence. Together these Acts constitute a higher order communicative Move, to be stored in memory as one conceptual whole. That they count as one conceptual whole is not only signaled by the use of *quidem*, but, interestingly, also by the fact that there is case agreement here across clause boundaries: the participle *dato* agrees in case form with the constituent *veneno* in the preceding clause.

Example (13) thus nicely illustrates how grammatical structure and discourse structure sometimes seem to struggle to get at terms with each other. Although the two acts in one respect seem to coincide with two independent grammatical clauses (each conveying its own predicate), in another respect (case agreement) the match between discourse structure and grammatical structure appears to be only partial. Example (13) demonstrates once more that the concept of grammatical clause as the basic unit of linguistic analysis is not without problems.

I will end this section by drawing attention to a particular group of instances of *quidem* which have in common that they occur in conversations after a change of Speaker:

- (14) Speaker 1: tu si meus esses ...
 Speaker 2: dis *quidem* esses, Demea
 ('If you were my man ... :: You'd be rich, Demea', Ter. *Ad.* 771)

The function of *quidem* in dialogical contexts like this can be explained as a signal that, despite the occurrence of a Speaker turn and the apparent start of a new (reactive) Move, no new semantico-syntactic template will be set up (as one might expect after a change of speaker). Rather Speaker 2 recycles and completes the semantico-syntactic structure of a move which was started by Speaker 1: the *quidem*-unit provides the apodosis that is grammatically and conceptually required by the conditional clause uttered by Speaker 1. Likewise in example (9) above, the second Speaker takes up the semantico-syntactic template of the Move of the first Speaker, and suggests, so to speak, an alternative illocutionary force for it: from a warning it turns into a wish.

As a matter of fact, the use of *quidem* in conversations appears to be virtually confined to this relatively rare and quite specific type of Move structure, that is, a structure in which a second Speaker completes, extends, restricts, corrects, recycles or otherwise takes up the initiating Move of the first Speaker.

3.4 *Quidem* as a marker of the complex Move structure

In all earlier discussed examples the larger conceptual whole to which the *quidem*-unit belongs did not exceed the limits of the grammatical clause, or at most a succession of two grammatical clauses. To round off the discussion of *quidem*, we will have a brief look at two instances of the particle at a more global level of discourse structure. The relevant linguistic unit of analysis here is the *complex Move* (see § 2.3). Again, the uniting role of *quidem* may work in two directions, backward and forward.

Example (15) is taken from Petronius' adventure novel *Satyricon*. In the previous context the internal narrator Encolpius has told how he, Giton and Ascyltos had an unpleasant meeting with Trimalchio's watchdog, a scene ending with Ascyltos and Encolpius falling into the pond. The text continues with a report of how both men are saved from the water by the doorkeeper:

- (15) *servavit nos tamen atriensis, qui interventu suo et canem placavit et nos trementes extraxit in siccum. Et Giton quidem iam dudum se ratione acutissima redemerat a cane. Quicquid enim ...*
 ('But the porter by his intervention pacified the dog and saved us, and pulled us shivering on to dry land. Giton (Et Giton *quidem*) had ransomed himself from the dog some time before by a very cunning plan: ... (follows the story of how Giton had managed to get rid of the dog)', Petr. 72.9)

The use of *quidem* might be explained as a signal for the reader that the present unit still depends on what has gone before, with which it forms one conceptual whole. After the story of the salvation of Encolpius and Ascyltos, the reader might have been left in doubt about how, in the meantime, the other protagonist Giton has fared. The narrative Move is, so to speak, conceptually and communicatively not yet complete, due to the fact that the narrator cannot direct his camera to two temporally coinciding events or episodes at the same time. By way of solution he chooses to tell one of them as an appendix to the other. In a sense this particular narrative technique can be considered the macrostructural pendant of the splitting constructions illustrated by examples (8) and (10) above: the use of *et Giton quidem* at the front position of the sentence is a clear instruction for the Addressee to embed the upcoming information within a conceptual frame that has already been set up. The structure of discourse is by nature dynamic and incremental. *Quidem* is one of the means in Latin to indicate what coheres with what.²⁵

This coherence signaling function may work, as stated above, in two directions. Example (16) illustrates the forward-linking or *anticipatory* use of *quidem*. The text is taken from Livy's famous story of the rape of Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius, son of the last king of Rome. In the preceding context it has been told how Tarquinius, at a drinking party with some of his royal friends, gets physically attracted to Lucretia, the wife of his host Collatinus:

- (16) *It was there that Sextus Tarquinius was seized with a wicked desire to debauch Lucretia by force; not only her beauty, but her proved chastity as well, provoked him. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt ('And then they returned from the nightly boyish prank to the camp').*

When a few days had gone by, Sextus Tarquinius, without letting Collatinus know, took a single attendant and went to Collatia (...) (Liv. 1.57.10–58.1)

Without *quidem*, the sentence starting with *et tum* could be taken as a mere next step on the chronological time line of the story. By the addition of *quidem*, however, the sentence gets the effect of a cliff hanger. The use of *quidem* rouses the expectation that the Communicated Content of the current unit will be modified or qualified later on. *Quidem* works here in a prospective way, as a kind of warning to the reader that its host unit is only interpretable in combination with the following unit. As such the use of *quidem* in (16) is not essentially different from its alleged concessive use in example (6): (6) displays, so to speak, the local level pendant of the global level anticipatory use of *quidem* exemplified in (16). In a narrative text type like (16), this forward-linking use of *quidem* can be deployed as a suspense creating technique, reflecting a certain discourse planning strategy of the Speaker.

²⁵ Instances like (15) may help to explain how *quidem* may come to be used by certain Latin authors as a quite neutral continuation marker, indicating merely that the upcoming unit is thematically related to the preceding unit. Cf. KÜHNER & STEGMANN II, p. 804: "in ergänzendem und fortführendem Sinne namentlich bei dem älteren Plinius". An example is Plin. *Nat.* 7.21. Also Suetonius seems to use *quidem* in this neutral text organizing way (e.g. *Aug.* 4.2; 64.2).

4 Conclusion

The article started from the observation that the traditional primacy of the grammatical sentence or clause as the basic unit of linguistic analysis is not without problems. On the basis of a number of illustrative examples of “extraposition” in Latin, I have made a case for a linguistic approach to Latin which considers the discourse pragmatic category of *Act* as the basic unit of linguistic analysis, and which does not a priori assume a one-to-one relationship between the smallest unit of discourse structure (the *Act*) and the largest unit of grammatical structure (the grammatical clause or sentence). In the context of the distinction between strategic units of discourse and semantico-syntactic units of grammar, I discussed the theoretical outlines of Functional Discourse Grammar, as one of the more promising attempts to bridge the gap between discourse analytical models of language and grammatical models of language.

One of the assets of the discourse pragmatic approach discussed in this article is that it enables us to account for certain linguistic phenomena (like word order, anaphoric reference, the use of tenses, and the use of discourse particles) in a more sophisticated way. This was illustrated by means of a text fragment from Sallust’s *Jugurthine War* (§ 2.3), and by a discussion of the Latin particle *quidem* (§ 3). *Quidem*, like other discourse organizing particles, can be seen as a reflection of strategic choices made by the Speaker, and thus as pertaining to the Interpersonal Level of linguistic organization. More specifically it is a means to signal conceptual unity across the boundaries of strategic discourse units, in contexts in which for rhetorical or processing reasons a conceptual whole has been formally split up. As such *quidem* can be said to counterbalance the tension that may arise between structures at the Representational Level of organization and structures at the Interpersonal Level. *Quidem* may point both in a forward direction (anticipatory or prospective use) and in a backward direction (retrospective use), and can be used on a local or a quite global level of the discourse structure. Any adversative, affirmative, causal, concessive or other more specific semantic values that are commonly assigned to *quidem* are to be ascribed to features of the immediate context of the particle rather than to the meaning potential of the particle itself.

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